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Pavak

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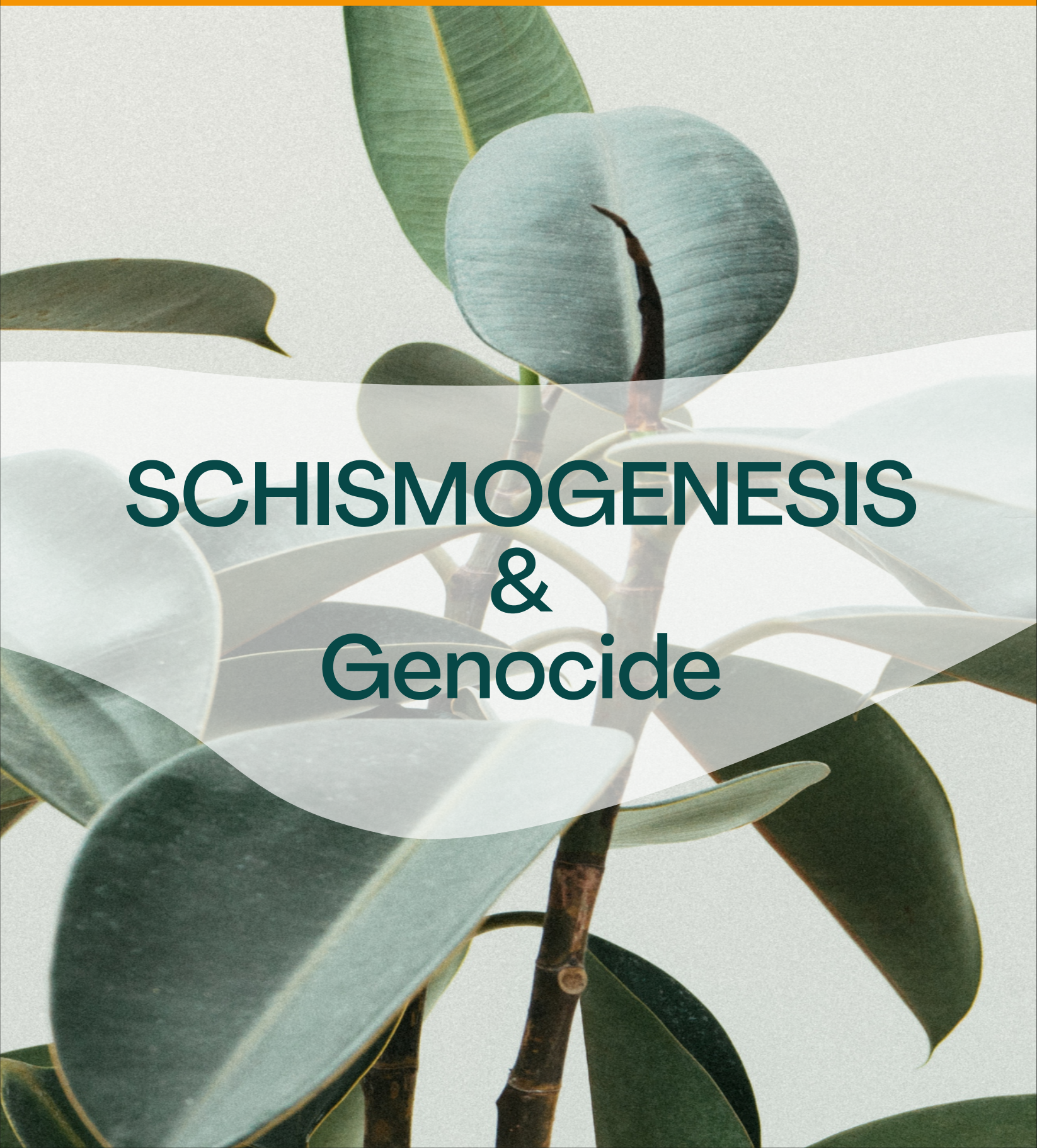

SCHISMOGENESIS & Genocide

अपथ्याशीवबालः स सामन्तसहितस्ततः।
जनानाम जातिविध्वंसे सूहभट्टः कृतोद्यमः।।

- Pandit Jonaraja, Father of Genocide Studies

Pandit Jonaraja, the author of second Rajtarangini that follows the Rajtarangini of Kalhan, was a Kashmiri Shaivite Bhatta Brahmin. His real name was Jyotsanakar, meaning the creator of moonlight. This poetic name was true to his being. He was an exceptional and sensitive poet, well versed in history, astrology, Ayurveda, Yoga and subtler aspects of all these disciplines. He was a renowned Sanskrit scholar. His year of birth as per records available is estimated as 1389-90.

Like Kalhan he has written the history of Kashmir in poetry. But, that is not all about him. He has recorded the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits in detail and delineated its aspects like the present day genocide scholars.

Jati-Vidhwans - This is the word Jonaraja has coined to describe genocide. He has defined genocide and Raphael Lemkin's definition which came in 20th century closely mirrors Jonaraja's definition. He has even pointed out the special intent that motivates the perpetrator and given a very sensitive and vivid account of how an ideology radicalises a regime and effects a total change in its mode of operation that leads to genocide. He has made it clear that the mind of a perpetrator is at a very low level of maturity. That is the view held by present day genocide scholars also. His account of the first exodus of Kashmiri Pandits, if placed in correct context, is no different from the atrocities the community faced in 1990.

Roots of the field of genocide studies are found in Pandit Jonaraja. He, in every sense is **"Father of Genocide Studies."**

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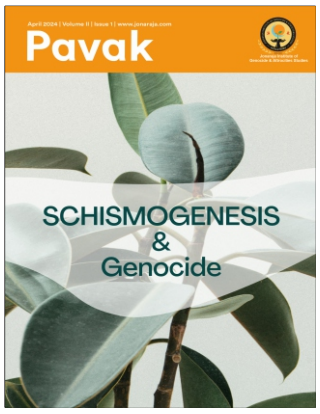

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Applying Schismogenesis to Genocide Studies

Schismogenesis can be understood as a cycle of escalating tension and violence between different social, ethnic, religious, or political groups. This process often begins with initial tensions or grievances between groups, which may stem from historical grievances, economic disparities, or ideological differences. As these tensions escalate, each group's actions and reactions contribute to a feedback loop of increasing hostility and aggression.

Sunanda Vashisht
Editor-in-Chief, Pavak

Schismogenesis, a concept introduced by anthropologist Gregory Bateson, refers to the process by which divisions and conflicts between groups escalate over time due to reciprocal actions or reactions. In the context of genocide studies, Schismogenesis helps elucidate the dynamics that lead to escalating violence and dehumanization between groups, ultimately resulting in genocide.

When applied to genocide studies, Schismogenesis can be understood as a cycle of escalating tension and violence between different social, ethnic, religious, or political groups. This process often begins with initial tensions or grievances between groups, which may stem from historical grievances, economic disparities, or ideological differences. As these tensions escalate, each group's actions and reactions contribute to a feedback loop of increasing hostility and aggression.

For example, discriminatory policies enacted against a particular group may provoke resentment and resistance, leading to reprisal attacks or further marginalization. These retaliatory actions, in turn, fuel perceptions of threat and hostility among the dominant group, leading to even harsher measures and escalating violence. This cycle perpetuates itself, creating a self-reinforcing dynamic that can ultimately culminate in genocide—the systematic extermination of a particular group based on their identity.

Competitive Schismogenesis:
During the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, competitive dynamics between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority played a significant role. Historical grievances, economic disparities, and political manipulation had long fueled competition between the two groups. When political tensions escalated, Hutu extremists sought to maintain their dominance and power by targeting Tutsis for extermination. This competitive drive to assert dominance and control over resources led to a genocidal campaign where the Hutu majority sought to eliminate the Tutsi minority.

Symmetrical Schismogenesis:
The Bosnian Genocide (1992-1995) provides an example of symmetrical schismogenesis. In Bosnia, ethnic tensions between Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Serbs, and Croats escalated into widespread violence and ethnic cleansing. As one group perpetrated atrocities against another, the targeted group often responded in kind, mirroring the violence and escalating the conflict. This symmetrical pattern of violence fueled a cycle of retribution and revenge, leading to widespread atrocities and genocide.

Complementary Schismogenesis:
The genocide against the Tutsi population in Rwanda also illustrates complementary schismogenesis. The Hutu extremists who orchestrated the genocide presented Tutsis as enemies of the state and used propaganda to dehumanize and vilify them. In response, many Hutu civilians, fueled by fear and indoctrination, actively participated in the killings, while others remained complicit by not intervening. This complementary dynamic, where one group perpetrates violence while the other acquiesces or

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Social Dislocation: The forced displacement of Kashmiri Pandits led to a fragmentation of their community, dispersing them across different parts of India and beyond. This displacement disrupted social networks, cultural traditions, and intergenerational connections, further deepening their sense of alienation and loss.

participates, reinforced the genocidal campaign against the Tutsis.

Double Bind Schismogenesis:
The Darfur Genocide in Sudan exemplifies double bind schismogenesis. In Darfur, the Sudanese government and its allied Janjaweed militia targeted African ethnic groups, including the Fur, Zaghawa, and Massalit, in a campaign of ethnic cleansing and genocide. These groups faced a double bind: either flee their homes and risk death or stay and face extermination. This impossible choice created a situation of profound despair and helplessness, exacerbating the suffering of the targeted populations.

Kashmiri Pandit Genocide and Double Bind Schismogenesis:
Applying the concept of Double Bind Schismogenesis to the Kashmiri Pandit genocide in Kashmir involves understanding how conflicting messages or expectations created a situation where the Kashmiri Pandit community faced an impossible choice, leading to profound despair and helplessness. Here's how Double Bind Schismogenesis can be applied to the Kashmiri Pandit genocide:

Conflicting Messages and Expectations:
Message 1: Stay and Face Persecution: The Kashmiri Pandit community, as a minority Hindu population in the predominantly Muslim Kashmir Valley, faced escalating threats and violence from terrorist groups. Despite the dangers, there was an expectation for them to remain in their ancestral homeland and uphold their cultural and religious identity.

Message 2: Flee for Safety: Simultaneously, the deteriorating security situation and targeted attacks on Kashmiri Pandits conveyed a message of imminent danger and insecurity. Faced with the threat of violence, displacement, and death, many Kashmiri Pandits felt compelled to flee their homes to seek safety elsewhere.

Impossible Choice:
Dilemma for Kashmiri Pandits: The conflicting messages placed the Kashmiri Pandit community in a double bind. On one hand, staying meant risking persecution, violence, and even death at the hands of militant groups who targeted them based on their religious identity. On the other hand, fleeing meant abandoning their homes, livelihoods, and ancestral land, leading to displacement, loss of cultural heritage, and a fractured sense of identity.

No-Win Situation: This impossible choice created a sense of profound despair and helplessness among the Kashmiri Pandits. Regardless of their decision to stay or leave, they faced dire consequences, whether in the form of targeted violence and persecution or forced displacement and loss.

Impact on the Kashmiri Pandit Community:
Psychological Trauma: The double bind situation exacerbated the psychological trauma experienced by the Kashmiri Pandit community. They grappled with feelings of abandonment, betrayal, and loss, as well as the trauma of witnessing or experiencing violence and persecution.

Social Dislocation: The forced displacement of Kashmiri Pandits led to a fragmentation of their community, dispersing them across different parts of India and beyond. This displacement disrupted social networks, cultural traditions, and intergenerational connections, further deepening their sense of alienation and loss.

Long-Term Consequences:
Legacy of Trauma: The legacy of the double bind experienced by the Kashmiri Pandit community continues to reverberate, affecting subsequent generations who grapple with the trauma, displacement, and loss endured by their ancestors.
Challenges of Return and Reconciliation: For many Kashmiri Pandits, the prospect of returning to their homeland remains fraught with uncertainty and fear. Reconciliation efforts face significant challenges in

addressing the deep-rooted wounds and divisions exacerbated by the double bind schismogenesis experienced during the genocide.

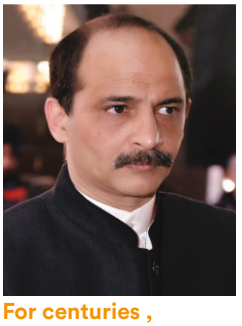
The application of Double Bind Schismogenesis to the Kashmiri Pandit genocide highlights the complex dynamics of conflicting messages and impossible choices faced by the community, leading to profound psychological trauma, social dislocation, and long-term consequences that continue to shape their experiences and identities.

Understanding schismogenesis is crucial in genocide studies for several reasons. It allows researchers and policymakers to identify early warning signs of escalating conflict and violence. By understanding how tensions between groups evolve and intensify, it becomes possible to intervene before violence reaches genocidal levels. Studying schismogenesis provides insights into effective strategies for preventing and mitigating genocide. By addressing underlying grievances, reducing polarization, and promoting dialogue and reconciliation, interventions can disrupt the cycle of escalating violence before it reaches catastrophic levels. Understanding the dynamics of schismogenesis is essential for holding perpetrators of genocide accountable for their actions. By examining how violence escalates within and between groups, researchers and legal authorities can better understand the chain of events leading to genocide and prosecute those responsible. Finally, studying schismogenesis is essential for post-conflict reconciliation and healing. By understanding the complex interplay of factors that contribute to genocide, communities affected by violence can begin to address deep-rooted divisions, promote empathy and understanding, and work towards building a more inclusive and peaceful society.

Schismogenesis provides a valuable framework for understanding the dynamics of escalating violence and conflict that can lead to genocide. By studying these processes, researchers and policymakers can develop more effective strategies for prevention, intervention, accountability, and reconciliation in the aftermath of mass violence.

The application of Double Bind Schismogenesis to the Kashmiri Pandit genocide highlights the complex dynamics of conflicting messages and impossible choices faced by the community, leading to profound psychological trauma, social dislocation, and long-term consequences that continue to shape their experiences and identities.

Kashmir: Towards a Nuisance/tragedy Schismogenesis



For centuries , Kashmir has been characterized by deep-rooted ideology which since last seven centuries is inspiring the process of exterminating the aboriginals, Which Pt. Jonaraja refers to. Amidst this tumultuous landscape, the Kashmiri Pandit community found themselves caught in the crossfire, facing Genocide, persecution and forced displacement.

Tito Ganju
Chairman, JIGAS

In the cycle of conflict and tragedy, the Kashmir region serves as a poignant illustration of the complex interplay between schismogenesis, genocide, and political manipulation. At the heart of this narrative lies the plight of Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims,whose experiences encapsulate the insidious tactics employed by governments to maintain control and perpetuate cycles of victimization.

For centuries , Kashmir has been characterized by deep-rooted ideology which since last seven centuries is inspiring the process of exterminating the aboriginals,Which Pt Jonaraja refers to '. Amidst this tumultuous landscape, the Kashmiri Pandit community found themselves caught in the crossfire, facing Genocide,persecution and forced displacement. The events of the late 1980s and early 1990s saw a wave of violence targeting Kashmiri Pandits, a Genocide leading to the mass exodus of this community from their homeland.

The concept of schismogenesis, coined by anthropologist Gregory Bateson, aptly describes the escalating cycle of conflict within Kashmir. In this context, the government's response to the plight of Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims serves as a prime example of complementary schismogenesis. The government asserts its dominance over the victimized community, compelling submission while absolving the perpetrators of significant responsibility. This dynamic perpetuates a cycle of victimization, with the government consolidating its control while the Kashmiri Pandit community is relegated to a state of economic subsistence and dependence.

Complementary Schismogenesis:
Complementary schismogenesis describes a phenomenon where the actions of one party in a conflict fuel the actions of another, leading to an escalation of the conflict and a reinforcement of power dynamics. In the context of the Kashmir insurgency, the dynamics of complementary schismogenesis are evident in the relationship between the government and the victimized community, particularly the Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims.

The government's actions, including policies and narratives that reinforce its authority and dominance, serve to perpetuate a cycle of submission and subordination within the victimized community. As the government asserts its control, the victimized community is coerced into accepting their subordinate status, further consolidating the perpetrators power. This dynamic not only bolsters the government's authority but also undermines the agency and autonomy of the victimized community, trapping them in a state of perpetual vulnerability.

Government Dominance and Economic Subsistence:
In the context of the Kashmir conflict, the government's dominance over the victimized community is underscored by its manipulation of economic subsistence. The victim of genocide becomes a perceived nuisance to the state, while the perpetrator

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In the intricate web of conflict and power dynamics within the Kashmir region, one particularly insidious tactic employed by the government is the transference of voting rights of Kashmiri Pandit genocide victims to Kashmir. This maneuver serves as a means to exert further control and manipulate the political landscape, reinforcing the government's authority while exacerbating the trauma and marginalization experienced by the victims.

community is absolved of significant responsibility. This narrative shift serves to further marginalize the victimized community, relegating them to a state of economic dependence on the government for employment and livelihood.

The government's control over economic resources and employment opportunities further reinforces its dominance, while simultaneously perpetuating a cycle of economic subservience within the victimized community. Forced to rely on the government for their basic needs, the victimized community is effectively rendered powerless, unable to challenge the systemic injustices they face.

Progressive Differentiation:
Progressive differentiation describes the emergence of stark distinctions within a community, often fueled by external forces such as government manipulation and propaganda. In the context of the Kashmir conflict, a stark differentiation emerges between the victimized community and the perpetrators, with the former labeled as nuisances by the state while the latter are gradually exonerated of their crimes.
This progressive differentiation exacerbates the rift within the community, pitting dissenters against those who conform to the government's narrative. Those who speak out against the genocide are marginalized and labeled as nuisances, while those who advocate for reconciliation are deemed victims of the tragedy. This division further weakens the victimized community, undermining their collective strength and solidarity.

Government Manipulation:
The government's adept manipulation of these divisions within the community serves to further its own agenda, consolidating its control and perpetuating the cycle of victimization. By exploiting the rift between dissenters and conformists, the government is able to maintain its authority while silencing dissent and resistance.

Those who highlight the genocide are marginalized and silenced, their voices drowned out by the government's propaganda machine. Meanwhile, those who advocate for reconciliation are co-opted and utilized as pawns in the government's strategy of maintaining control. In this way, the government effectively manipulates the narrative surrounding the Kashmir conflict, further entrenching its dominance and perpetuating the cycle of victimization.

The dynamics of complementary schismogenesis, government dominance, progressive differentiation, and manipulation serve to reinforce the power dynamics within the Kashmir conflict, perpetuating a cycle of victimization and subjugation within the victimized community. Addressing these underlying dynamics is essential to fostering reconciliation, justice, and lasting peace in the region.

The Manipulation of Voting Rights:
In the intricate web of conflict and power dynamics within the Kashmir region, one particularly insidious tactic employed by the government is the transference of voting rights of Kashmiri Pandit genocide victims to Kashmir. This maneuver serves as a means to exert further control and manipulate the political landscape, reinforcing the government's authority while exacerbating the trauma and marginalization experienced by the victims.

Forced Confrontation with Trauma:
By compelling Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims to vote from the very place where they endured genocide, the government forces them to confront their traumatic past. This forced psychological return to the site of their trauma strips them of agency and autonomy, relegating them to mere pawns in the government's political machinations. It effectively renders Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims persona non grata in their places of exile, exacerbating their sense of displacement and alienation.

Perpetuation of Victimization:
The transference of voting rights perpetuates the victimization of Kashmiri Pandit migrants, trapping them in a perpetual state of vulnerability and marginalization. Stripped of their autonomy and agency, they are coerced into participating in a political system that perpetuates their own subjugation. This tactic reinforces the narrative of their status as victims, further entrenching their marginalization within the broader political landscape.

Entrenchment of Government Control:
Moreover, this tactic serves to further entrench the government's control over the region. By manipulating the voting rights of Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims , the government effectively attempts to consolidate its authority and reinforces its dominance over the political landscape. This manipulation not only perpetuates the cycle of victimization but also serves to mask the systemic injustices faced by the displaced community.

Obfuscation of Systemic Injustices:
The government's manipulation of the narrative surrounding the Kashmir conflict serves to obfuscate the underlying issues and perpetuate a facade of reconciliation and normalcy. By coercing Kashmiri Pandit Genocide victims to vote from Kashmir, the government seeks to maintain its dominance while masking the systemic injustices faced by the displaced community. This manipulation effectively silences dissent and resistance, perpetuating a narrative that serves the government's interests while marginalizing the voices of the victims.

In summary, The Prime Minister's Employment package and the transference of voting rights of Kashmiri Pandit migrants to Kashmir represents a sinister manifestation of government manipulation and control within the Kashmir region. This tactic not only reinforces the government's authority but also exacerbates the trauma and marginalization experienced by the victims of Genocide addressing these underlying dynamics is essential to fostering reconciliation, justice, and lasting peace in the region. Only through acknowledging and confronting these injustices can the cycle of victimization be broken, paving the way for a more equitable and inclusive political landscape in Kashmir.

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Genocidal Schismogenesis in Kashmir

Verse 19.5 of Srimad Bhagwadgita, a primary Indian scripture gives us an idea of schismogenetic processes and how to prevent the collapse of such processes of communication, with which they are always threatened when differentiations become intensified and there are no cultural attempts from any quarter to restrain them.

Dr. Dileep Kumar Kaul
Director, JIGAS

The word Schism means division (Greek skhisma). Divisions or differences exist in every aspect of life. The term schismogenesis was coined by anthropologist Gregory Bateson in his 1936 work Naven. It is a term used for understanding and analysing the progressive differentiation that occurs in the behaviour of individuals and communities when they interact with each other. In essence, schismogenesis is a process of communication.

Verse 19.5 of Srimad Bhagwadgita, a primary Indian scripture gives us an idea of schismogenetic processes and how to prevent the collapse of such processes of communication, with which they are always threatened when differentiations become intensified and there are no cultural attempts from any quarter to restrain them. The verse is:

vidyā vinaya saṃpanne brāhmaṇe gavi hastini|
śuni caiva śvapāke ca paṇḍitāḥ samadarśinaḥ ||

Abhinavgupgta, the great Kashmiri sage, whose contribution to Indian aesthetic, philosophical, intellectual, musical, literary and analytical tradition is unparalleled has discussed the meaning of this verse in his **śrīmadgītārthasaṃgrahaḥ**. He says that in this verse Bhagwadgita is talking about the yogis who are impartial in their eery act. These yogis do not think that by serving knowledgeable and humble Brahmins they will attain some virtue. Further, rearing a cow will not enrich him spiritually, nor does the yogi think that rearing an elephant is a sign of prosperity.

Then we come to the second line of the verse. Abhinavgupta says that the Yogi will never feel threatened by a dog that it may harm him or affect his purity or sanctity. Even a Shwapak, a Shudra who is from the lowest strata of the society so that he has to cook a dog to eat and satiate his hunger, is in no way threatening for a Yogi because he looks at all of them with equanimity.

But what is the cause of this equanimity? To explain this Abhinavgupta quotes from **Vijñāna Bhairava,** a prominent text of the Trika school of Kashmir Shaivism:

ciddharmā sarvadeheṣu viśeṣo nāsti kutracit.
ataśca tanmayaṃ sarvaṃ bhāvayanbhavajijjanaḥ.

100

Within everybody there is **ciddharmā,** the ability to act that is governed by the light of consciousness. Nowhere this light of consciousness is different. One who feels and understands everything infused with this light of consciousness conquers the world.

So, comprehending this light of consciousness integral to everything leads to the feeling of equanimity. The Yogi understands the divisions of even a friend or an enemy from the point of view of behaviour only which is an outward action, not on the consciousness level, because the consciousness is **ciddharmā,** the light of consciousness that is universal.

When we analyse the two lines of the verse, in the first line we have three elements—the learned and humble Brahmin, cow and the elephant. In the second line we have the dog, and the dog eater, the Shudra. The elements in the first line belong to the higher level of the society. The Brahmin is the most knowledgeable and thus wields social and cultural power. Cow is reared as a sacred entity and its milk is taken by the knowledgeable Brahmin as a part of his food. An elephant is a symbol of power used as a vehicle for monarchs. So, it has its own sanctity.

Dog is an animal of a lower level than these. Shudra, the dog-eater of those times uses dog as his food. He uses the lower kind of

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animal as his food most probably because he cannot afford a better thing to eat.

In the two lines of the verse, there are two strata of the society, the highest and the lowest, schismatically separate, one wields power and the other one eats a lower kind of animal to survive. So one group is dominant and the other one cannot but submit. This is dominance-submission schismogenesis, referred to as complementary schismogenesis by Gregory Bateson.

But Bhagwadgita does not stop at schismogenesis. It considers, Pandit, the Yogi above any schismogenesis because he has the quality of visualising everything in this world with equanimity. He feels the presence of the light of universal consciousness in everything around us that provides a negative feedback loop. The yogi does not contribute to the process of schismogenesis, the continuation of which may lead to the aggravation of differences and thus hostility. The yogi provides correcting feedback to the process of differentiation. He is a cultural restraint. This verse of Bhagwadgita makes it clear that the sacred text of Hindus does not support the processes of schismogenesis but underlines the need for cultural restraint for the all processes of differentiation that separate man from man or man from animal.

Abhinavgupta has shown that Srimadbhagwadgita is aware of schism present in the society and inspires us towards attaining a level of awareness the presence of one life force, one light of consciousness in every being marks the life around us and applies restraint to the schismogenetic processes that may get intensified and turned into hostile or violent social behaviours.

In the 15th chapter of his great work **"Śrītantrāloka",** Abhinavgupta clearly mentions the process of schismogenesis. In the 98th verse he says:

yathā svabhāvato mlecchā adharmapathavartinaḥ.
tatra deśe niyatyetthaṃ jñānayogau sthitau kvacita. *98*

Mlecchas (foreign invaders in ancient India) who are bent upon destroying your culture, are inclined towards following the path of Adharma (the path of non-righteousness). So, in the places invaded by mlecchas, Adharma is the dominant discourse. In the same way the energies that incorporate the consciousness of oneness with divinity (Yoga) are expressed in form of centres of knowledge at that place. Gregory Bateson has described the term Schismogenesis in the same manner. He says that when two groups interact over a period of time, their behaviour becomes progressively differentiated.

This brings us to a situation that when an invader invades, he imposes his own system and the invaded people can resist only through establishing their own centres of knowledge. The invader may further react by attacking those centres of knowledge. Then it depends upon the invaded people how they can preserve their system of knowledge. Those who cannot, face the threat of extinction.

How do such centres of knowledge benefit a man. Abinavgupta makes it clear in the following verse:

yathācātanyayo'pyeti pāpitāṃ taiḥ samāgamāt.
tathāpīṭhasthito'pyeti jñānayogādipātratām. *99*

As a sinless man falls prey to sin when he interacts with sinners, a person in a centre of knowledge interacts with the knowledgeable ones to get knowledge and the consciousness of oneness with divinity (yoga).

It is this kind of knowledge that offers resistance to the discourses of otherness that are at the root of the crime of crimes that is genocide. The Muslim perpetrators in Kashmir were conscious of the strength of the tradition of knowledge in Kashmir. They tried to respond with their religious discourse but that did not hold water in front of analytical tradition of Kashmir. So the hostility increased and the differentiation increased to the point that perpetrators went more and more hostile and ultimately destroyed the knowledge centres and made bonfire of books. Srivara the disciple of Pandit Jonaraja writes in his Rajtarngini:

śekandhara dharānātho yavanaiḥ preritaḥ puraḥ.
pustakāna sakalāna sarvāṃstṛṇānyagnirivādāhata. *75.5*

King Sikander (1389-1413) under the inspiration of Yavanas (Islamists) took all books and burnt them like dry grass.

Genocidal schismogenesis was taking roots. The process of differentiation between the communities was getting intense and the victim community had to

Bhagwadgita does not stop at schismogenesis. It considers, Pandit, the Yogi above any schismogenesis because he has the quality of visualising everything in this world with equanimity. He feels the presence of the light of universal consciousness in everything around us that provides a negative feedback loop. The yogi does not contribute to the process of schismogenesis, the continuation of which may lead to the aggravation of differences and thus hostility.

The movement in Kashmir was also a sort of civil disobedience movement but against the Maharaja and not the British rule, though violence against Hindus was also committed during the movement. Kashmir was following a path different from India. Indian leaders like Jawahar Lal Nehru favoured Sheikh Abdullah, most probably to gain foothold in Kashmir. Here we need to understand that that the primary defining factor of schismogenesis is the feedback loop that the parties receive from each other.

find ways to preserve its system of knowledge because that was the basis of their identity through which they could preserve their continuity. Kashmiri Pandits preserved their books by hiding them in their homes and associated with it the feeling of salvation and attainment of heaven after death. That is why some verses were added by the amanuensis who handwrote the Rajtarangani of Shuka, the last available Rajtarangini. The last verse he added is:

vartate ca gṛheyasya śubhārājataraṃgiṇī.
sa jīvanamukta evasyānmṛtaḥ svargamavāpnuyāt. ***(samvat 1880-1823 CE). 132***

one who keeps this auspicious Rajtarangini at home, he, while being alive has attained salvation and after death will go to heaven. Dated Samvat 1880 that is 1823 CE.

This is true. Preservation of history keeps a community alive. But keeping the Rajtarnginis hidden in homes shows the submission of the victims. So, the dominance of the perpetrator and the submission of the victim has progressively increased with time. This is what Gregory Bateson has called complementary schismogenesis. Genocidal schismogenesis is complementary in nature.

It is necessary to keep in view the religious schisms that led to the maturing of genocidal schismogenesis in Kashmir and its intensification to the ultimate point when almost no Kashmiri pandit exists in Kashmir. The history of Kashmir can be read as the process of increase in Muslim dominance and in submission of Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus). That way genocidal schismogenesis is complementary in nature.

The genocidal schismogenesis in Kashmir cannot but have its origins in Islamic schism that assumes that Muslims have the right to exclusive salvation after they leave this world and other communities are damned for ever. This dogma has undergone many innovations from time to time in Kashmir and those innovations have appealed to masses.

In 1931 the "Quit Kashmir" movement headed by Sheikh Abdullah was the first innovation of the Islamic Schism that facilitated Hindu/Muslim schismogenesis. It was a movement against Maharaja Hari Singh the Hindu Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja was from Jammu region. It was the time when Mahatma Gandhi had already launched civil disobedience movement against the British rule. The movement in Kashmir was also a sort of civil disobedience movement but against the Maharaja and not the British rule, though violence against Hindus was also committed during the movement. Kashmir was following a path different from India. Indian leaders like Jawahar Lal Nehru favoured Sheikh Abdullah, most probably to gain foothold in Kashmir. Here we need to understand that that the primary defining factor of schismogenesis is the feedback loop that the parties receive from each other. The feedback that the Maharaja was getting was that Indian leaders were siding with the Sheikh. That was true. The consequent process of constant strengthening of Sheikh and weakening of Maharaja began from there. Muslim/Hindu, dominance/submission schismogenesis got a new look and new dimensions. That has led to the escalation and collapse of the system in which Kashmiri Pandits do not matter. Kashmiri society of today is a system where Kashmiri Pandits stand morally excluded. This is the point where progressive differentiation between the community reaches a point where the "other" loses all its meaning and identity.

If we examine the phenomenon of dominance, it through the lens of complementary schismogenesis is established through many instruments. Ideology is the main instrument for doing this. Perpetrator community in Kashmir has maintained the dominance of its ideology in whatever ways possible. To facilitate the progress of genocidal schismogenesis shuffling between secularism and communalism was done, and behind the cover of this game the dominance of the Muslim identity was kept alive. Muslim Conference was the first political party established in 1932 as Sheikh Abdullah as its president. He defined the party as a secular body that was going to fight for the rights of all and not only the Muslims. But the name was "Muslim" Conference. A communist flavour was added to it in 1937 when the working class began a

movement to press for their demands. The leader of the movement Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad of The Muslim Conference said that the movement was not communal but stood for all wage earners belonging to any religion. In 1939 the name of the party was changed to National Conference. This name appealed to Kashmiri Pandits and Congress both and they supported it.

But the irony is supplied by the name of the headquarter of The National Conference that had shown that it was abandoning its Muslim centric attitude by changing its name from Muslim conference to National Conference had not changed the name of its headquarter that is Mujahid Manzil (the home of Mujahids, the holy warriors of Islam.) This name was a message for the local people through which the first political party of Kashmir foregrounded the Muslim identity and this led to carrying forward the process of genocidal schismogenesis.

This carrying forward of genocidal schismogenesis that progressively adds to the devaluing of one community and supervaluing of the other has been a centuries old phenomenon in Kashmir. Four years back Epilogue News Network, a prominent news channel on the web made a documentary on genocide. It was titled—Denial of Genocide akin to Double Genocide. In the film a fact about Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was conveyed. Quoting from a book "Where will it End" by M. L. Kaul the documentary tells us that in 1980s Sheikh Abdullah went to Calcutta. Some Kashmiri Pandits living in the city met him to discuss the situation of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. He unequivocally told them that education and the population strength of Kashmiri Pandits could not be ignored and for this reason Kashmiri Pandits could not be given employment in Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims only would be employed in Kashmir. Sheikh said that Kashmiri Pandits could progress anywhere in India. Kashmir would be the best place for them to spend their summer vacations. The economic base of Kashmiri Pandits was being eroded completely.

The same kind of orientation was shown by Suhabhatta about six centuries back. Pandit Jonaraja has recorded this in his Rajtarangini:

vicchetumicchatā vidyāṃ tenāpahṛtavṛttibhiḥ.
laḍitaṃ prativeśmāgre piṇḍīlobhād dvijaiḥ śvat. *669*

With an intention to destroy the tradition of knowledge Suhabhatta deprived the Brahmin of their employment and just to get a morsel of food they stood in front of homes like hungry dogs with their tongues protruded out.

This made the life of Kashmiri Pandits difficult. So they left Kashmir. Shiekh Abdullah said in clear terms that Kashmiri Pandits are not welcome to be a part of Kashmiri society and only Muslims can have economic base there. Suhabhatta also had the same kind of thinking. This shows the emergence and intensification of genocidal schismogenesis through centuries.

A very important aspect of genocidal schismogenesis in Kashmir is killing of security forces. One of the political narratives in Kashmir has been that Indian Army is an occupational force and to attain freedom this army is to be fought. Pakistan was a great help here. The hostile country adjacent to India provided training camps for Kashmiris so that they could fight Indian Army. This is a very bright example of what Gregory Bateson called symmetrical schismogenesis. In this kind of schismogenesis a group responds to the activities on another group in a similar manner. Indian army could not be resisted by common civilians with no arms training. Kashmiri Muslims were trained in guerrilla warfare in Pakistani training camps. To match the Indian army an army of civilians was created and that army inflicted damages on Indian army. Military cantonments were attacked by them in Jammu and Kashmir and many soldiers lost their lives.

Genocidal schismogenesis that is integral to this confrontation between Indian Army and Kashmiri Muslim Guerrillas cannot be understood without referring to the tribal raid of 1947. Local Pathans of NWFP were sent to take over Kashmir immediately after the partition of India. Indian Army, in a very swift and intelligent operation turned the raid into a total failure though many Kashmiri Pandits were killed in many villages of Kashmir and other atrocities were committed on them. Since then Indian army became an eyesore.

In 1980s Sheikh Abdullah went to Calcutta. Some Kashmiri Pandits living in the city met him to discuss the situation of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. He unequivocally told them that education and the population strength of Kashmiri Pandits could not be ignored and for this reason Kashmiri Pandits could not be given employment in Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims only would be employed in Kashmir. Sheikh said that Kashmiri Pandits could progress anywhere in India. Kashmir would be the best place for them to spend their summer vacations.

The first thing to get eroded is the moral restraint in the society that is the product of the communication between all groups that constitute the society. The perpetrator community imposes its own morals which become the status quo for all and anyone breaking the status quo is punished. The victim community reaches a very low level of its identity power.

Since early 1960 small groups of Pakistan backed covert operatives began to work in Kashmir. They expanded to bigger cells. They were eliminated by Indian intelligence agencies. Learning from the failures an organisation Al-Fatah came into existence that operated until the war of 1971. Members of Al-Fatah were arrested in 1972. But before this on 13 February 1967 the killed a BSF constable Charan Das by piercing daggers into his chest. Since then many Indian soldiers have been killed in Kashmir. But, what is genocidal about it?

Genocidal schismogenesis is about constant weakening of the victim. That automatically strengthens the perpetrator. The situation in 1947 made the Indian Army a rescuer force. They destroyed the tribals and saved Kashmiri Pandits from annihilation. Killing of constable Charan Das evoked a possibility that Kashmiri people can kill Indian soldiers.

In 1990 when the killings of Kashmiri Pandits started, they thought that India was not going to tolerate the killings. Indian Army will come out of the barracks and everything will be set right. But nothing of the sort happened. Indian Army was no longer the rescuer Army for Kashmiri Pandits. The situation communicated a painful fact to Kashmiri Pandits. Your army is not going to help you. This further lowered the identity power of Kashmiri Pandits and made the differentiation between the perpetrator and the victim more intense. But the fact cannot be denied that Indian army, following its traditions of professionalism has successfully managed to maintain the upper hand in Kashmir.

But that was not all. All possible supports of the victim community were being attacked. Land holding is a very basic proof of belonging to a place. Land holding of Kashmiri Pandits were usurped using the slogan "Land to the tiller" through "Big Landed estate Abolition Act 1950." Under careful propaganda, people were made to believe that if any land exists in J&K it belongs to Kashmiri Pandits. But in fact, there were only two Kashmiri Pandits who could be called land owners. The highest land holdings were with two Muslims Ahmad Mir (3215 kanal that is 525.25 acres) and Musammat Ashraf Begum (3215 Kanal that is 401.875 acre). But they were never projected as feudal lords. Under this act ceiling on land was reduced to 22.75 acres which was reduced to just 12.50 acres in the second phase of land reforms in 1976. Ceiling surplus land was taken by the state and distributed to tillers. It was the flavour of communism at its peak. The landholdings of Kashmiri Pandits were reduced to almost nothing. This was similar to Armenian genocide in which Kurdish leaders registered the Armenian land in their name with the support of authorities. Moreover, no compensation was given for the expropriated land to the Kashmiri Pandit owners. Their right on the land was taken away by this law.

It needs to be noted that schismogenesis exists in our everyday life in various forms. We follow our cricket teams want them to win. If the rival teams win we feel sad but accept the loss of our team because the game is played under the rules of the sport and we respect the rules. Same is true of political parties. Our political party may win or lose the elections but the elections are held under the electoral law. All laws of the land are governed by the constitution and we respect the rule of the constitution. But genocidal schismogenesis does not obey such rules. It aims at constantly increasing the differentiation between the sides to the extent that the system of communication that constitutes the schismogenesis collapses and the victim is annihilated or eliminated from the system and the word of the perpetrator becomes the rule. That is what happened in Kashmir in 1990. It was the end result of genocidal schismogenesis that got initiated many centuries ago.

The first thing to get eroded is the moral restraint in the society that is the product of the communication between all groups that constitute the society. The perpetrator community imposes its own morals which become the status quo for all and anyone breaking the status quo is punished. The victim community reaches a very low level of its identity power. This situation can be countered by what ancient wisdom of the great sage Abhinavgupta tells us—by creating institutions that evoke the faith in the universal light of consciousness that dwells in everything that exists around us. This only can facilitate the coexistence of differentiations.

Eyewitness Testimony from Rwanda

Reproduced from United Stated Holocaust Memorial Museum
(https://www.ushmm.org/genocide-prevention/countries/wanda/eyewitness-testimony)

1) Norah Bagarinka, Survivor

Norah Bagarinka, a Tutsi, was targeted during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. She survived, as many Tutsi did, by running and hiding for more than 100 days.
“When we reached the roadblock, I found that the guy who was my gardener was the head in the roadblock and what they're telling that, “Tutsi here, Hutu here. If you know you are Tutsi, this side. If you know you are Hutu, this side.”
But then I started to ask myself, "What do I count myself? Do I go to my husband's side since I'm married to a Hutu? Maybe I had the right to stay on his side." But then immediately someone, one of the local people on the roadblock, came and pulled me, said, "Hey! You don't belong to that side if you're married to him — just here." So I was pulled to that side and they started up with a machete coming towards me. What I did, I raised up my hand and I said "Please, please don't kill me."
As I was putting my hands up, my gardener came, I can't remember whether this was a slasher or — it was something sharp because it cut my hand. And I fell down, and blood started shooting up, so my mother was trying to pull me up. They said — they hit her hard, she fell down, also, and the gardener came and said, "Okay, please," he pulled me up, said, "Leave her alone. I'm the one going to kill her because she was — I was digging for her and she was a very bad boss to me. She never paid me well. She never gave me food." In my mind, I thought I was going to be killed by him. He took us, like, my mother and other three ladies and took us aside on the other bush.
When we reached there, he got some leaves and bandaged my hand, and he told us, "Run! Run for your safety." And he apologized. He said, "Please, forgive me. This was the only way I could spare your lives.”

2) Gen. Roméo Dallaire, UN Force, Rwanda

General Roméo Dallaire from Canada was the commander of the United Nations peacekeeping force for Rwanda deployed in late 1993 as part of a peace accord between the Rwandan government and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front.
“One day, I was coming between the lines and there was a young boy about three years old, on the road, and what the extremists used to do was put children in the middle of the road to stop convoys, and then once the convoy stopped, then they would attack it and kill and steal the stuff.
And so this boy's up ahead and I'm expecting to be in an ambush, and so with a couple of soldiers we stop, jump out, and there's no ambush. And so we go to the huts along the road there and we start looking inside, yelling for people to come and take care of the child.
And in the huts the bodies have been decaying for weeks and half-eaten by rats and dogs. And so we're going through these huts and all of a sudden realize that the child's no more with us.
So we go back and find him in a hut where there are two adults, male, female, and some children who are in advanced decay. And he's sitting there in a corner, as if it's sort of like his home; he's comfortable. And I couldn't figure out how come he had not been killed.
And so I took that child and I brought him to the middle of the road, and I looked at him, and his stomach was bloated and he had scabs and flies and dirt, and rags on.
But then all of a sudden I looked into his eyes, and what I saw in his eyes was exactly what I saw in the eyes of my three-year-old at the time. They're the eyes of a human child. And they were absolutely no different, one from the other. They were both human children. And so are all humans human, or are some more human than others”

3) Jean-Philippe Ceppi, Journalist

In 1994, Jean-Philippe Ceppi was an independent journalist based in Kenya.
"We went with a sister, a Catholic sister, we went to a sort of convent in central Kigali and we saw about—probably a hundred of terrified people. And it was under the basement, I think, of a building, and she told us, "Look, these people have been chased away, and they're terrified and we are trying to hide them, and most of them are Tutsis, and we don't know... we pray God." And just as we went out of that place, we heard a group shouting. And there was a young guy, running, panicked, terrified, with three or four guys behind him, chasing him with weapon, with machete. And that guy came and the sister stopped these four guys. She calmed them down. And she touched one of them, on the head here. She said, "My son, it's going to be okay. Just leave that guy now." And they went. I'll never know what happened to that guy. He managed to disappear. But, you know, at that time, it never occurred in my mind if—is that a "genocide" or what? I mean, having seen in a day a pile of four hundred bodies, having seen somebody—bodies lying in the streets being eaten by dogs and having heard the guy from ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] quoting a number of twenty thousand, ten or twenty thousand Tutsis in Kigali, plus an uncertain amount of Tutsis being slaughtered all around the country, for me, was good enough to use this word "genocide."

4) Alison Des Forges, Human Rights Advocate

US based-human rights activist Alison Des Forges had worked on Rwanda for years before the genocide began. When violence started in April 1994, she focused all her energy on publicizing the genocide and trying to provoke strong international response.
"CHANTAL: I met Fifi in town during the war. We went together to hide at the prefecture office… where we hoped we would be killed by guns… but not by machetes.
They gathered us in a big house and raped us all together. Those who refused were killed. Four different people raped me. By the end I wished for death, but death would not come.
I, myself, saw Fifi raped during the war. That is how she was infected with HIV. It saddens me. We've already lost another close friend. And now Fifi is the last one in our group who is dying.
I'm sorry that she can't hear me very well and that she can't speak. Before she went to the hospital she came to me and asked… "Do you think I'll be alright?" I encouraged her and said… "Let's take you to the hospital and hope you'll be fine." I told her to have courage and that I would be behind her all the time. Those were the last words we ever spoke."

5) Damas Gisimba, Rescuer

Damas Gisimba was the director of an orphanage, the Gisimba Memorial Center, in Kigali, Rwanda, when the genocide began in April 1994.
"We were no longer scared of dying. We lived with death; it surrounded us. Death walked among us. And so I was no longer afraid. I could not be scared in front of the children. I could not panic, because if I panicked, I couldn't have done anything to help those who had fled to me. I could see the militias coming, and I would signal to the adults to go up into the ceiling and hide. When they arrived, all they could see were the kids in their dorms, and they didn't see the adults.
It was in the month of June that they killed people at the center. They killed my social worker. They killed other people who were hiding in the ceiling of the kitchen, at least six people. This is when they realized that I was hiding people left and right, and at that moment they organized to attack the center."

6) Stephen Rapp, International Prosecutor

Stephen Rapp, a victim of a violent crime as a young man, became a prosecutor, first for the US Attorney's Office, and from 2001 to 2006 at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).
"I put myself always in the shoes of the victim. I was a victim of a horrible crime when I was young, and went on

after that to a career as a defense attorney, and understand that no matter what the crime is, there needs to be a just process. But when I put myself in these situations and I see a Nazi camp guard killing Jewish people in the morning before breakfast, in my mind's eye. Or I see what happened in the Rwandan genocide, with the slamming of babies against the walls of churches, you know, of families seeing their own children killed in front of their eyes, and other loved ones. And I see the brutality and the animus in the eyes of the people doing those crimes. I say, those people should answer for those crimes.

Through what's happening in the Yugoslavia tribunal and what we did in the Rwanda tribunal, and now the Sierra Leone and through the continuing work in the future of the International Criminal Court, I think we're creating a perception in the minds of those people that are doing these things that, "Hey, one of these days they'll be coming for me."

7) Clemantine Wamariya, Survivor

Clemantine Wamariya was six years old when the genocide began in Rwanda

'When we went to all these countries, being treated like we were garbage, we were less than humans. It didn't matter that we were a mix of Hutu and Tutsi and Twa. It didn't matter that we were tall or short, or beautiful or ugly. It didn't matter that we were black. It didn't matter at all. It just matter that inside of us, we're all trying to survive.

I have survived. And I think that everyone who has survived in anything, they should be able to be the witness to these kinds of crimes, and not let more people die because they just are people. I mean, for God's sake—Darfur. Those are people being burned alive, those are people who have family, who are educated, who wants to help change the world. The Holocaust happened and we are so ashamed and no one did anything—we are talking about Bosnia. We are talking about Rwanda. Another one? I think maybe we need to change our system, the way we educate people. We need to teach our kids that "You're not better than that person, you just are the same." And so that's why I stand up for any injustice thing, such as hunger, war, or the genocides."

8) Carl Wilkens, Rescuer

In 1994, Carl Wilkens directed the Adventist Development and Relief Agency International in Rwanda. His family evacuated when the genocide began, but Wilkens chose to stay to deliver aid to children in need despite the on-going violence.

'I started to see the militia appearing all around, probably more than fifty of them. They could walk right between the bushes of the enclosure. They could walk in whenever they wanted. And it was after, like I said, two to three hours, that all of a sudden, here comes a little double-cab Toyota pickup with seven gendarmes in the back, in their little red berets. What a welcome sight these guys were. They pulled in the parking lot, the soldiers jump out of the back of the pickup truck, and they look around and size up the situation. The lieutenant who came with them went with me inside the office, and we tried to explain the situation to him. And I said, "Is there any way you can spend the night here because these guys—it appears we have a massacre about to happen." And he says, "We're just seven. There's nothing we could do here." He says, "The best thing is for you to go and talk to my leader." Now these guys didn't travel with any of their own radios or communication equipment. And so you got some hard decisions here to make, because—can you trust this man? Some of the police were involved in the killing. Some were saving and protecting people. What do you do? But it seemed like the only route to do was to trust him. The young brother said, "No. Don't go. They're going to kill us as soon as you leave." And I said to him, you know—I promised him… I promised him, "I'll come back." And so it was with this sick mixture of relief and dread that I got in my car and drove away…'

Pavak

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